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Continuous psalmody in the Old Hispanic liturgy

Emma Hornby and Kati Ihnat

Abstract

The place of psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite has not previously been well understood. We closely analyse the liturgical material in London, British Library, Add. MS 30851 (BL51), leading to a new understanding of how and when psalmody was used in that rite, and new hypotheses about the likely purpose of BL51's psalter, including its antiphons and orations. Previous scholars have argued that there was no practice of continuous psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite (e.g. Brou, Randel), or that continuous psalmody was used within the public liturgy on ferial weekdays, taking three weeks to cycle around the psalter. We argue, instead, that Old Hispanic continuous psalmody was reserved for the night liturgy, practiced in cloistered communities. We combine the evidence of BL51's psalter with the instructions for the night liturgy, preserved in the same manuscript, to establish that it would have taken approximately a week to cycle around the psalter, with its antiphons and orations, in these services.

Introduction

While the recitation of the entire psalter in the course of a week was the basis for Benedictine worship, there has been some disagreement about whether this was also the case in Iberia, where the Benedictine rule only became used widely after the imposition of the Roman liturgy in the late eleventh century¹. In the present article, we re-evaluate the evidence about psalm singing in the Old Hispanic liturgy, coming to new conclusions about its

¹ Benedictine influence on monastic practice in Iberia has been traced much earlier, but the liturgy as laid out in the Benedictine Rule was not widely practised across the peninsula until the late-eleventh century. On this see, Antonio LINAGE CONDE, « El monacato visigótico, hacia la benedictinización », *Los Visigodos. Historia y civilización. Antigüedad y cristianismo*, 3, 1986, p. 235-259 ; Charles BISHKO, « Salvus of Albelda and Frontier Monasticism in Tenth-Century Navarre », *Speculum*, 23, 1948, p. 559-590 ; IDEM, « The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism », in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300*, ed. by Charles BISHKO, Aldershot, 1984, p. 1-43.

practice. Contrary to a number of prominent historians of the Old Hispanic rite, we argue that, while there is no evidence for the regular recitation of the entire psalter in the day-time liturgy, there does seem to have been a regular cycle of psalms in the nightly services celebrated in religious communities. The most important witness to this practice is an eleventh-century psalter containing considerable liturgical material: London, British Library, Additional MS 30851 (henceforth BL51)². As well as psalms, canticles and hymns, this codex includes a *liber horarum* containing instructions for the night services practised in a monastery. According to these instructions, the night services included the routine singing of many (but unspecified) psalms. While scholars have been aware of this³, they have not fully pursued the implications of the physical juxtaposition in BL51 of night service instructions for psalm-singing, and a psalter containing psalms, antiphons and orations⁴. We suggest that the materials in BL51's psalter may have been used in the cycle of psalmody within the night

² The manuscript has long been associated with the Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, and most studies suggest that it originated there: Susana ZAPKE et al., *Hispania Vetusta: musical-liturgical manuscripts from Visigothic origins to the Franco-Roman transition (9th-12th centuries)*, Bilbao, 2007, p. 198, 201 and 205 ; Susan BOYNTON, « A lost Mozarabic liturgical manuscript rediscovered: New York, Hispanic Society of America, B2916, olim Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular 33.2 », *Traditio*, 57, 2002), p. 189-215, at p. 192 ; IDEM, « Eleventh-century Continental Hymnaries Containing Latin Glosses », *Scriptorium*, 53, 1998, p. 200-251, at p. 244 ; Manuel DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*, León, 1983, p. 216 ; IDEM, *Libros y librerías en La Rioja Altomedieval*, Logroño, 1991, p. 195 n. 18 ; Don Michael RANDEL, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite*, Princeton, 1973, XVIII ; Agustín MILLARES CARLO ET AL (eds), *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, 2 vols, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999, p. 88 ; Juan Carlos ASENCIO PALACIOS, *El canto gregoriano: historia, liturgia, formas*, Madrid, 2011, p. 88 and Maricarmen GÓMEZ MUNTANÉ, *La música medieval en España*, Kassel, 2001, p. 7, specify only the provenance as Silos. José Manuel RUIZ ASENCIO, « Códices pirenaicos y riojanos en la biblioteca de Silos en el siglo XI », in *Silos. Un Milenio. Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre la Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos II Historia*, Santo Domingo de Silos, 2003 (Studia Silensia, 26), p. 177-210, at p. 184, considers BL51 to have been a product of the Silos scriptorium under the supervision of the abbot Domingo. Conversely, Herminio GONZÁLEZ BARRIONUEVO, « Los códices “mozárabes” del archivo de Silos: aspectos paleográficos y semiológicos de su notación neumática », *Revista de musicología*, 15, 1992, p. 403-473, at p. 404, does not include this manuscript among those he thought were copied at Silos, nor does Ann BOYLAN, « Manuscript Illumination at Santo Domingo de Silos (Xth-XIIth centuries) », PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1990, p. 250, who thought it corresponded to the *liber hymnorum* listed in a charter found in Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2171 where it is described as a donation to the abbot of Silos, Nuño, from Sancho of Tabladillo. See further bibliography at <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20203> (accessed 3 March 2019). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10001 is a twelfth- or thirteenth-century psalter containing similar liturgical information. It contains fewer antiphons and no prayers. It will be discussed below.

³ Jordi PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares del oficio monacal hispánico*, Montserrat, 1966 (Liturgica 3. Scripta et documenta, 17) ; Gregory WOOLFENDEN, *Daily Liturgical Prayer: Origins and Theology*, Abingdon, 2004 (Liturgy, Worship and Society Series).

⁴ In the Old Hispanic liturgy, an oration is a prayer said after an antiphon+verse(s) complex. The oration's themes usually respond to the antiphon text.

services. In other words, closer scrutiny of BL51 has the potential to shed new light on the practice of continuous psalmody in the Old Hispanic liturgy.

Public and Cloistered liturgy

The Old Hispanic liturgy differs in important aspects from the more familiar Roman liturgy, and it is therefore necessary to give a broad-brush introduction to Old Hispanic liturgical structures, before looking more closely at the practice of psalmody within this early medieval rite⁵. From at least the seventh century onwards, the Old Hispanic rite developed in two parallel strands⁶. The public liturgy comprises the evening service (vespers), the dawn service

⁵ On psalmody in other liturgical traditions, which largely falls out of the scope of the present article, see the detailed introduction in Christian TROELSGÅRD *et al.*, « Psalm », *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000048161, accessed 2 March 2019. This encyclopaedia entry has considerable further bibliography, including important contributions such as: Joseph DYER, « Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages », *Revue bénédictine*, 99, 1989, p. 41–74 ; and IDEM, « The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office », *Speculum*, 64, 1989, p. 535–78. See also Nancy VAN DEUSEN (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, Albany, 1999 ; and Jesse BILLET, « The "Roman" office in England », in *Rome across time and space: Cultural transmission and the exchange of ideas*, ed. by Claudia BOLGIA, Rosamond MCKITTERICK, and John OSBORNE, Cambridge, 2011, p. 84–110.

⁶ Two separate forms of celebrating the liturgy are mentioned in the first council of Braga in 561: one for monasteries and the other for cathedrals (canon 1 in Juan VIVES (ed.), *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, p. 71 ; discussed in Félix María AROCENA, *Cánones litúrgicos de los concilios hispano-visigóticos*, Barcelona, 2017 (Cuadernos Phase 237), p. 40. We do not know how widely this distinction applied throughout the Peninsula, as the council was regional in nature. The first mention of two distinct forms of liturgical practice at a general council in Visigothic Iberia was at the Eleventh Council of Toledo (675). Here, legislation stipulated that the forms of celebrating the public services should be the same in monastic and non-monastic institutions, and in harmony with the metropolitan seat: Canon 3: « ...unum eundumque in sallendo teneant modum, quem in metropolitana sede cognoverint institutum, nec aliqua diversitate cuiusque ordinis vel officii metropolitana se patiantur sede disiungi ». (VIVES, *Concilios visigóticos* (*supra* n. 6), p. 856–57.) This suggests that the forms of the public services may have previously differed ; alternatively, this canon could have sought to adjust practice in only those areas still following the canons of Braga. The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 had already sought to unify liturgical celebration in the churches of the Visigothic kingdom, with no mention of any distinction between public and cloistered worship (Canon 2, in Gonzalo MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ and Félix RODRÍGUEZ (eds), *La colección canónica hispana*, V. Concilios hispanos: Segunda parte, Madrid, 1992), p. 183–184). For a brief summary of monastic and cathedral liturgical structures in early liturgical traditions, see Robert TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The origins of the Divine Office and its meaning for today*, Second Revised Edition, Collegeville, MN, 1993, p. 211–213. See also Paul BRADSHAW, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A study of the origin and early development of the Divine Office*, Eugene, OR, 1981, p. 111–149. The terminology « cathedral » and « monastic » liturgy was established by Anton BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, London, 1958. While it is followed by most historians of liturgy, its limitations have been indicated (particularly for the fourth century) by Paul BRADSHAW, « Cathedral and Monastic: What's in a name? », *Worship*, 77, 2003, p. 341–353. In the context of the Roman liturgy, « secular »/« cathedral » and « monastic » are forms of liturgy used in different types of institution. In the Iberian context, all types of institution used the « cathedral » liturgy – the services to which the laity were welcome – while the « monastic » services were reserved only for those living in community. The distinction is quite different from what is more familiar in the

(matutinum), and the Mass⁷. These public services, at which the laity were apparently welcome, were performed in all ecclesiastical establishments⁸. During the penitential season of Lent, and on litany days⁹, the public liturgy included three further services (terce, sext and none)¹⁰. There was local variation of repertoire, but – from at least the early eighth-century onwards, when the first extant Old Hispanic liturgical manuscript was copied – the shape of each service within the public liturgy was well established¹¹. We should note in passing that, despite the familiarity of the Old Hispanic services' names (e.g. vespers), the components of each service are significantly different from their Roman counterparts¹². The Old Hispanic public liturgy is heavily properised: particular chants, readings and prayers are assigned to many days of the year¹³. The properised days include Sundays, feast days of both the temporal and sanctoral cycles, and many individual weekdays.

The second strand of the Old Hispanic liturgy is made up of the services practised in community in monasteries and (presumably) other religious institutions. The distinction between these cloistered services and the public services is clearly made in the prologue to an

Roman liturgy, and, for the Iberian materials, we have therefore chosen to differentiate instead between the « public » services, open to all, and the « cloistered » services, reserved only for those living in community.

⁷ On the general shape of the Old Hispanic liturgy, see Jordi PINELL, *Liturgia Hispánica*, Barcelona, 1998 (Biblioteca litúrgica 9).

⁸ See the decree at Toledo XI, *supra* n. 6. Evidence of public attendance is suggested by a reference in the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* to a lay man attending the dawn service: Andrew FEAR (ed.), *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, Liverpool, 1997 (Translated Texts for Historians 26), p. 69.

⁹ These are roughly equivalent to rogations in the Roman liturgy. See the reference to litanies in ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymologies*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 151 (VI.xix.80). See also Emma HORNBY, Kati IHNAT, Rebecca MALOY and Raquel ROJO CARRILLO, *An Introduction to the Old Hispanic Office: Liturgy, Melody and Theology* (working title ; in preparation), Chapter 1.

¹⁰ This was also the case in some Gallican practices by the fifth century, on which see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 145, and BRADSHAW, *Daily Prayer*, p. 121 (*supra* n. 6).

¹¹ The earliest surviving manuscript containing the Old Hispanic liturgy is the so-called Verona Orational (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXIX). Its early-eighth century dating is discussed in Manuel DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, « La fecha de implantación del oracional festivo », *Boletín arqueológico órgano de la Real Sociedad Arqueológica Tarraconense*, 71-2, 1971-1972, p. 216-243 ; IDEM, « Consideraciones sobre el oracional visigótico de Verona », in *Petrarca Verona e l'Europa: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. by Giuseppe BILLANOVICH and Giuseppe FRASSO. Padua, 1997, p. 13-29 ; Pedro ROVALO, « Temporal y santoral en el Adviento visigodo », *Hispania Sacra*, 19, 1966, p. 243-320 ; and Miguel VIVANCOS, « El oracional visigótico de Verona: notas codicológicas y paleográficas », *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 26, 2006, p. 121-144.

¹² For a summary of the Old Hispanic service components, see PINELL, *Liturgia Hispánica* (*supra* n. 7). See also HORNBY ET AL, *An Introduction*, Chapter 3 (*supra* n. 9).

¹³ The term « properisation » was coined by James MCKINNON. See his « Properization: The Roman Mass », in *Cantus Planus*, Papers Read at the 6th Meeting of the IMS Study Group, Éger (Hungary), September 1993, ed. by László DOBSZAY, Budapest, 1995, p. 15-22.

eleventh-century *liber horarum* (Silos, Biblioteca del Monasterio, 7; henceforth S7)¹⁴. Here, while indicating that monks do celebrate the services of matutinum and vespers and/or Compline, these are said to belong to the cathedral cursus (*cathedralis ordo*)¹⁵. This «cathedral» liturgy (that is, the public liturgy, in our terminology) was supplemented by a further series of services that were exclusively monastic in nature. There were a substantial number of these cloistered services during the day (arranged numerically, sometimes including all the hours from *prima* – the first hour – to *duodecima* – the twelfth hour) and several more at night¹⁶. We cannot know how uniformly these services were practised across Iberia. Three Iberian monastic rules survive from the seventh century, each of which gives a slightly different impression of the shape of the liturgical day¹⁷. None of the rules tally exactly with the (much later) surviving manuscripts that preserve the components of the cloistered services (see Table 1); as a result, these rules cannot be taken as representative of a widespread and longstanding practice. In the surviving *libri horarum*, exactly the same items were used in these cloistered services day after day, across an entire season, on all Sundays in a season, or even across the entire year. For some elements, like the responsory chants, the

¹⁴ On the manuscript's dating, see Jordi PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico. I. Fuentes para su estudio », *Hispania Sacra*, 10, 1957, p. 385-427, at p. 395 ; idem, « Los textos de la antigua liturgia hispánica: fuentes para su estudio », in *Estudios sobre la liturgia mozárabe*, ed. by Juan Francisco RIVERA RECIO, Toledo, 1965, p. 109-164, at p. 136 ; MILLARES CARLO ET AL., *Corpus de códices* (*supra* n 2), p. 182 ; Ismael FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Manuscritos y fuentes musicales en España: Edad Media*, Madrid, 1980, p. 163 ; Randel, *Index* (*supra* n. 2), p. XIX. Its provenance is uncertain. GONZÁLEZ BARRIONUEVO, « Los códices “ mozárabes “ » (*supra* n. 2), p. 404, sees the manuscript as originating in the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos. More recently (but more speculatively), it has been associated with Sta. María la Real de Nájera (see RUIZ ASENCIO, « Códices pirenaicos » (*supra* n. 2), p. 200-202, reiterated in ZAPKE ET AL., *Hispania Vetus* (*supra* n. 2), p. 198 and 292). See also the edition, Juan Javier FLORES ARCAS (ed.), *Las horas diurnas del liber horarum de Silos. Introducción y edición crítica* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 7), Silos, 1997 (Studia Silensia, 21). On the provenance and dating, see also <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20181>.

¹⁵ « A monachus ergo cathedralis Ordo, quod est Matutini et Vespertini sive Completi officium, extra hunc orarum ordine suo est exsolvendum ». S7, f. 31. See the transcription in FLORES ARCAS, *Las horas diurnas* (*supra* n. 14), p. 241, and further discussion in Marius FÉROTIN (ed.), *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, Paris, 1912 (Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica, 6), col. 770.

¹⁶ The prologue in the *liber horarum* of S7 (f. 31r) includes reference to twelve day-time and twelve night-time services. The day-time services are readily identifiable in the extant manuscripts ; only a possible eight night-time services can be found (see Table 1): « Inde denique instituta duodecim diurnarum et duodecim noctium ordinarum (horarum) suarum officium sollicitè est exsolvendum monachis ». FLORES ARCAS, *Las horas diurnas* (*supra* n.14), p. 241 ; FÉROTIN, *Liber mozarabicus* (*supra* n. 15), col. 770.

¹⁷ Cap. VI, ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Regula monachorum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, vol. 83, ed. by J-P. MIGNE, Paris, 1850, p. 875-876 (henceforth *P.L.* 83). J. CAMPOS RUÍZ and I. ROCA MELIÁ (eds. and trans.), *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda: Los tres libros de las “ Sentencias “*, Madrid, 1971 (Santos Padres Españoles II). On these rules, see W.S. PORTER, « Early Spanish Monasticism II. Isidore of Seville and his Rule ; and III. Fructuosus of Braga », *Laudate*, 10, 1932, p. 66-79, and 156-167.

extant manuscripts preserve a small selection of alternatives from which, apparently, the community could choose at will on particular types of occasion¹⁸. In general, though, the cloistered liturgy was much less properised than the public liturgy.

Table 1: Manuscripts containing (or listing) some or all of the Old Hispanic monastic services

	<i>Libri horarum</i>					Monastic rules		
	BL51	Sant ¹⁹	Sal ²⁰	S7	T3 ²¹	Isidore's rule	Fructuosus's rule	Regula Monastica Communis
<i>Ante completa, ad completa and post completa</i>	Partial (after lacuna)			yes	yes	yes	yes	
<i>Ante lectulum</i>	yes			yes	yes		yes	
<i>ad Medium Noctis</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes			«ante medium noctis»	yes
<i>ad Nocturnos</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes (weekday liturgy not present)		«vigils»	«ad Medium noctis»	
<i>Post nocturnos</i>	yes	yes	yes «post nocturnis ad galli cantum»				yes	«gallicinium»
<i>Ordo peculiaris</i>				yes				
<i>ad Primam</i>							yes	yes

¹⁸ See for example the responsories listed for the hour of Prime according to different occasions, FLORES ARCAS, *Las horas diurnas* (supra n. 14), p. 22-30.

¹⁹ Sant: Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 609, Res. 1. On this manuscript, see Louis BROU, « Notes de paléographie musicale mozarabe », *Anuario musical*, 10, 1955, p. 23-44, at p. 74 ; FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Manuscritos y fuentes* (supra n. 14), p. 168 ; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Códices visigóticos* (supra n. 2), p. 272-292 ; GÓMEZ MUNTANÉ, *Música medieval* (supra, n. 2), p. 7 ; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, « Some incidental notes on music manuscripts », in *Hispania Vetus* (supra n. 2), p. 93-111, at p. 104-105 ; ASENSIO PALACIOS, *El canto gregoriano* (supra n. 2), p. 88 ; Lucy PICK, « Liturgical Renewal in two eleventh-century Royal Spanish Prayerbooks », *Traditio*, 66, 2011, p. 27-66, with description and complete bibliography in ZAPKE ET AL., *Hispania Vetus*, (supra n. 2), p. 256. See also <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20207>

²⁰ Sal: Biblioteca Historica de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2668. On this manuscript, see DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Códices visigóticos*, (supra n. 2), p. 349-350 ; FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Manuscritos y fuentes*, (supra n. 14), p. 166 ; PICK, « Liturgical Renewal », (supra n. 19) and, for description and bibliography, ZAPKE et al., *Hispania Vetus*, (supra n. 2), p. 274. See also <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20205>.

²¹ These services are listed, with folio numbers, in José JANINI and Ramón GONZALEZ, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo*, Toledo, 1977, p. 63. Note that Porter had access only to limited information about the manuscript, and was not aware of its full contents. See W. S. PORTER, « Monasticismo español primitivo: El oficio monástico », *Hispania Sacra*, 6, 1953, p. 3-36.

<i>ad Secundam</i>				yes (single service)			yes	yes
<i>ad Tertiam</i>				yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>ad Quartam</i>				yes	yes		yes (single service)	yes
<i>ad Quintam</i>				(single service)	(single service)			yes
<i>ad Sextam</i>				yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>ad Septimam</i>				yes	yes		yes (single service)	yes
<i>ad Octavam</i>				(single service)	(single service)			yes
<i>ad Nonam</i>				(lacuna)	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>ad Decimam</i>				yes	yes		yes (single service)	yes
<i>ad Undecimam</i>				(single service)	(single service)			yes
<i>ad Duodecimam</i>							yes	

Traditions of continuous psalmody

Continuous psalmody was a prominent feature of monasticism from the very earliest practices of the desert fathers²². While originally an individual act of devotion in which monks and nuns would recite psalms ceaselessly to themselves, by the fourth century psalmody had become a communal pursuit. The psalms were divided over the course of the day for communal worship, with a large block recited between cockcrow and dawn. This concentration of psalmody in the night is reflected in the medieval traditions, including the service described in the Benedictine rule as «vigils» (within which the psalm recitation was divided into sets known as «nocturns»); by the ninth century, this service had come to be known in the Roman liturgy as «matins.»

The early desert practices had a significant influence on liturgical psalmody in the Western tradition. Joseph Pascher's reconstruction of the early-fifth-century liturgy celebrated in Rome's monastic basilicas suggests that psalms 1 to 108 were sung during the night, arranged in order over the course of the week. In this practice, psalms 109-150 were reserved for vespers, although this was later reduced to five psalms each day (cycling around psalms 109-147), with psalms 148 to 150 sung at other services²³. Taking this Roman practice as his basis, Saint Benedict of Nursia rearranged the psalms to retain their

²² On the early history of psalmody in the Christian church, see James MCKINNON, « The Books of Psalms, Monasticism, and the Western Liturgy », in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Nancy VAN DEUSEN, Albany, 1999, p. 43-58.

²³ Joseph PASCHER, « Der Psalter für Laudes und Vesper im alten römischen Stundengebet », *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift*, 8, 1957, p. 255-67, TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 131-134.

distribution over the course of a week, but avoiding repetition where possible. Crucially, in Saint Benedict's new arrangement, the psalms are distributed between the services of the entire 24-hour daily cycle²⁴. Other traditions emerged that included a varying number of psalms. These included the nightly recitation of, respectively, 19 psalms in the Franco-Roman secular liturgy; 31 psalms in summer and 59 in winter in the Gallican rite; and 60 in summer and a staggering 99 in winter in Irish practice; a monastic reform movement in Ireland between 750 and 900 referred to as the Rule of the *Celi de*, prescribed the daily recitation of the entire psalter (the «three fifties»)²⁵. It is worth noting that these psalmodic practices came to include other features in addition to the psalm text, for example collects (prayers) recited by the presiding priest or monk after each psalm, and an antiphon framing each psalm²⁶. As a result, from an early date, the psalms became part of a larger liturgical complex while remaining at the centre of monastic practice.

Regular recitation of the entire psalter, then, was a central component of monastic practice throughout its development. Given the well-established kinship between the Old Hispanic and Gallican liturgies²⁷, one would also expect psalm recitation to be a key component of the Old Hispanic liturgy. This has, however, been a contested question. In what follows, we consider each strand of the Old Hispanic liturgy in turn, evaluating the claims of scholars about the presence or absence of a psalm cycle.

Psalmody within the Old Hispanic public liturgy

As noted above, the Old Hispanic public services are highly properised. Particular antiphons are assigned to most days of the year, each combined with a particular verse. A considerable

²⁴ For a useful table and discussion, see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 136-137.

²⁵ Jesse BILLETT, «The “Roman“ office in England», in *Rome across time and space: Cultural transmission and the exchange of ideas*, ed. by Claudia BOLGIA, Rosamond MCKITTERICK, and John OSBORNE, Cambridge, 2011, p. 84-110, at p. 88. He based these numbers on the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* by AMALARIUS OF METZ (ca. 840), the *Regula ad monachos* of AURELIAN OF ARLES (c. 547) and the *Regula monachorum* of COLUMBANUS (c. 600). See also Joseph Dyer, «Psalms in monastic prayer», in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Nancy van Deusen, Albany, 1999, p. 59-89, at p. 60.

²⁶ DYER, «Psalms», 75.

²⁷ On the links between these traditions, see Kenneth LEVY, «Old-Hispanic Chant in its European Context», in *España en la música de Occidente: actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Salamanca 29 de octubre-5 de noviembre de 1985*, ed. by Emilio CASARES RODICIO, Ismael FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, and José LOPEZ-CALO, Madrid, 1987, p. 3-14; IDEM, «Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul», *Early Music History*, 4, 1984, p. 49-99.

number of these antiphons are found in León, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 8 (henceforth L8), a tenth-century antiphoner that includes an entire annual cycle of chants for the public liturgy and is therefore the most comprehensive of all the surviving Old Hispanic liturgical books²⁸. Louis Brou argued that L8 provides no evidence of continuous psalmody in the Old Hispanic public services²⁹. He noted that only a small number of canonical psalms appear to have been recited in full during the daily service of matutinum³⁰. He claimed that the Old Hispanic antiphon verses are not always psalmic³¹. On closer inspection, the public service antiphons sung in contexts where one might expect to encounter a psalm cycle *do* all have psalmic verses³². However, these antiphon verses are not always drawn from the beginning of the psalm or psalm section³³. Even when the verse incipit is drawn from the beginning of a psalm or psalm section, it does not necessarily follow that more than a single psalm verse was sung, and the liturgy does not usually provide for the psalms to appear in psalter order³⁴. Don Randel concurred, pointing out that since only single verses or even just an incipit of one or two words appear in the chant sources, it was most likely the norm for a single verse to be used with each antiphon³⁵. These scholars concluded that, unlike the Franco-Roman liturgy (where there was a clearly attested practice of continuous psalmody both in secular and in

²⁸ A recent volume of articles has been dedicated to this manuscript: Ismael FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, Rosario ALVAREZ MÁRTINEZ, and Ana LLORENS MARTÍN (eds), *El canto mozárabe y su entorno. Estudios sobre la música de la liturgia viejo hispánica*, Madrid, 2013 (Publicaciones de la Sociedad Española de Musicología. Sección C, Estudios 24). Among the large bibliography on this manuscript, which has been the focal point of much Old Hispanic chant scholarship, see also ZAPKE ET AL., *Hispania Vetus* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 252, as well as the article therein: DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, « Incidental notes », and MILLARES CARLO ET AL., *Corpus de códices* (*supra* n. 2), p. 69 ; PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra*, n. 14), p. 392 ; IDEM, « Los textos » (*supra* n. 14), p. 128 and 129. For further bibliography, see <http://musicalhispanica.eu/source/20175>.

²⁹ Louis BROU, « Le joyau des antiphonaires latins », *Archivos leoneses*, 7, 1954, 7-114, at p. 97-111.

³⁰ Psalms 148-150 were used near the end of matutinum. Psalms 3, 50 and 56 are sometimes used at the beginning of matutinum ; on other days, psalm 3 appears near the beginning and psalm 50 part way through the service (before the canticle), or psalm 3 alone is indicated. See BROU, « Le joyau » (*supra* n. 29), p. 99-100. See also, HORNBY ET AL., *An Introduction*, Chapter 3 (*supra* n. 9).

³¹ BROU, « Le joyau » (*supra* n. 29), p. 98-99. This chimes with what scholars have argued was distinctive of « cathedral practice » in which texts were chosen for their appropriateness to the hour rather than with a cycle of psalmody in mind. On this, see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 54.

³² That is, within the matutinum *missae*, which have the form antiphon+verse+oration, antiphon+verse+oration, alleluia+verse+oration (alleluiatic antiphon)+verse+oration, responsory+verse+ (on Feasts of the Temporale and some saints' offices) oration ; in Vespers, antiphon+verse, alleluia+verse.

³³ Long psalms were divided up into sections ; this is confirmed by the rubrics in the extant psalters (on the section divisions in BL51, see further discussion below, 000). See BROU, « Notes » (*supra* n. 19), p. 52-54.

³⁴ BROU, « Le joyau » (*supra* n. 29), p. 98 and 103.

³⁵ RANDEL, *Index*, XIV, and Don Michael RANDEL and Nils NADEAU, « Mozarabic chant », *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19269 accessed 2 March 2019.

monastic practice), the Old Hispanic public liturgy does not appear to have included continuous psalmody³⁶.

Jordi Pinell, influenced by an early study by W. S. Porter, relied on a very different piece of evidence to come to the opposite conclusion³⁷. He based his theory in part on BL51, the composite manuscript introduced above³⁸. The codex begins with the so-called Mozarabic psalter divided into five books³⁹. A book of canticles follows (f. 92v-110v), then a book of hymns (f. 111r-163v). After this, there is a book of hours, or *liber horarum* (f. 164r-179r), containing the end of compline (after a lacuna) and the night services⁴⁰. Then come various occasional offices and blessings, some of which are specific to monastic use⁴¹. The manuscript ends with the beginning of a series of public services (vespers and matutinum) for the «ordinary» Sundays of the year (f. 199v-202v). These are the Sundays which fall between Epiphany and Lent, and after Pentecost; they are known collectively in the Old Hispanic

³⁶ On the development of psalmody in secular (« cathedral ») practice from the monastic *tituli* in Rome, see the summaries in TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 143-44, and Jesse BILLETT, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597- c.1000*, London, 2014 (Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia, 7), p. 37-43, 52-57, and 63 based on the work of CALLEWAERT and DE VOGÜÉ. They warn about the inadvisability of making a strict differentiation between secular and monastic practice until the reign of Louis the Pious (d. 840).

³⁷ PINELL, « Las *missae*: grupos de cantos y oraciones en el oficio de a antigua liturgia hispana », *Archivos leoneses*, 8, 1954, p. 145-85, at p. 154-172, and also IDEM, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17 and 230 ; IDEM, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 412-419. See also W. S. PORTER, « Studies in the Mozarabic Office », *Journal of Theological Studies*, 35, 1934, p. 266-286, at p. 283-286. There is a summary of his position in WOOLFENDEN, *Daily Liturgical Prayer* (*supra* n. 3), p. 73ff. Woolfenden does not come to a firm conclusion about whether or not the three-week cycle in the first half of Lent formed a stripped-down public cursus used in ordinary time.

³⁸ The manuscript has been edited as J. P. GILSON (ed.), *The Mozarabic Psalter (MS British Museum, Add. 30851)*, London, 1905 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 30).

³⁹ For editions and discussion of the unique features of the Mozarabic Psalter, which was derived from a Hispanic version of the Vetus Latina, see Teófilo AYUSO MARAZUELA (ed.), *Psalterium Visigothicum-Mozarabicorum*, Madrid, 1957 (Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia, Series VII, Vetus Latina 21), and IDEM (ed.), *El Salterio, La Vetus Latina hispana: Orígen, dependencia, derivaciones, valor e influjo universal: Reconstrucción, sistematización y análisis de su diversos elementos, coordinación y edición crítica de su texto* Vol. 2, Madrid, 1962. The division of books is as follows: Book 1, Ps. 1-40 ; Book 2, Ps. 41-71 ; Book 3, Ps. 72-88 ; Book 4, Ps. 89-105 ; Book 5, Ps. 106-150.

⁴⁰ Pinell argued that the services of *ante completam*, *post completam* and *ante lectulum* did not belong to the night liturgy, as they had a different structure more like that of the day liturgy. PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17, 200. This does not, however, take into account the fact that the rubric for *post-completam* on Sundays calls for the singing of twelve psalms in order, meaning it would have participated in the weekly cycle of psalmody. In that sense, it is more akin to the night liturgy.

⁴¹ These include blessings for various members of the monastic community including the hebdomadarius, lector, and cellarer (f. 179r-181r) and one to welcome the king (f. 180r), *versi* for a foot washing ceremony (f. 181r-182r), offices for the common of saints (f. 182r-190v), and votive offices for the sick and the dead (f. 190v-199v).

liturgy as Quotidian Sundays⁴². The manuscript ends in the middle of the second Quotidian Sunday on f. 202v. Some scholars have argued (on palaeographical grounds) that the *liber horarum* was not originally part of the codex⁴³. The almost exact match in text size and ruling across the entire manuscript nevertheless suggests that at the very least the different sections were compiled in the same scriptorium⁴⁴.

BL51 has garnered interest primarily because the books of canticles and hymns were heavily glossed in the twelfth century with words in Latin and Castilian, each of which is linked to words in the text using musical neumes⁴⁵. The psalter is of considerable interest in itself, however, although it features fewer glosses than either of the other sections and is lacking a number of folios from the beginning of the book⁴⁶. Its most unusual and special feature is the presence around each psalm of notated antiphons and orations (prayers). In general, each antiphon consists of one or two verses derived from the psalm with which it is copied. In a few instances, notation has been added directly to the text of a psalm verse to provide an antiphon, rather than being written out as a separate chant with smaller text script (Fig. 1). There is an oration copied at the end of each psalm (Fig. 2). Sometimes, this is followed by one or more further antiphon+oration pairs, with the antiphon text drawn from the same psalm (Fig. 3). These orations are a uniquely Old Hispanic genre, and are inextricably connected to their individual antiphons. Each oration uses the text of the antiphon (or, in about one fifth of cases, another part of the same psalm) as the basis for a

⁴² On the quotidian materials, see BROU, « Notes » (*supra* n. 19), p. 64-72.

⁴³ PINELL, *Liber orationum psalmographus. Colectas de salmos del antiguo rito hispánico*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1972 (Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, serie litúrgica, 9), p. 416 ; ZAPKE ET AL., *Hispania Vetus*, (*supra* n. 2), p. 272.

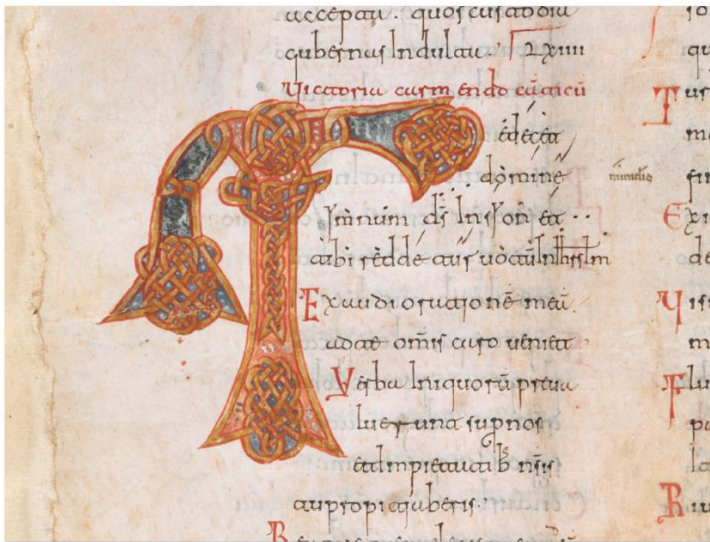
⁴⁴ The entire manuscript is written over 25 lines, with only f. 164r-165r in the *liber horarum* written over 26 lines.

⁴⁵ See for example BOYNTON, « Eleventh-century », (*supra* n. 2) ; EADEM, « The Didactic Function and Context of Eleventh-century glossed Hymnaries », in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung – Ästhetik – Ausstrahlung*, ed. by Andreas Haug, Kassel, 2004 (Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia IV), p. 301-329 ; EADEM, « Glosses on the Office Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries », *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11, 2001, p. 1-26.

⁴⁶ The two first folios contain the end of Ps. 15, all of Ps. 16, and the beginning of Ps. 17. There is a lacuna between f. 2v and 3r ; f. 3r opens with the end of Ps. 37. The psalms have been glossed in what seems to be a twelfth-century hand. See BOYNTON, « Eleventh-century », (*supra* n. 2), p. 245 ; Miguel C. VIVANCOS GÓMEZ, *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Silos, 1996, and also DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Las primeras glosas hispánicas*, Barcelona, 1978 (Publicaciones del seminario de literatura medieval y humanística), p. 112.

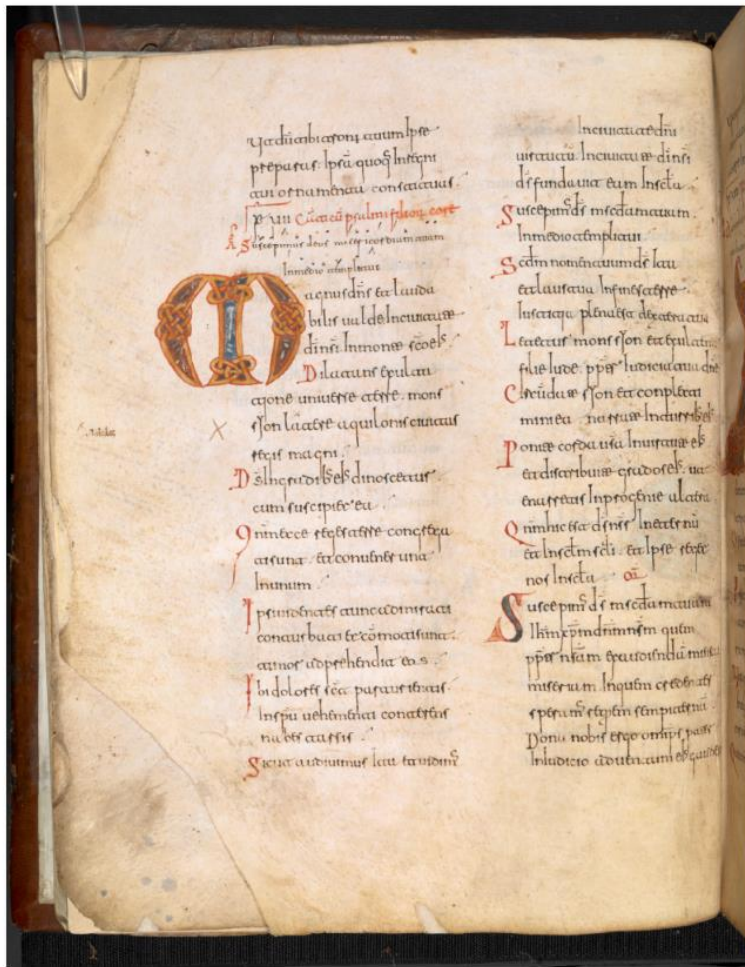
prayer that often provides a tropological gloss on the psalm text⁴⁷. The presence of these antiphons and orations suggest that the psalter had a liturgical function.

Insert Figure 1. BL51, f. 23v – Ps. 63 with antiphon (*Te decet Domine*) as neumed first line of psalm text

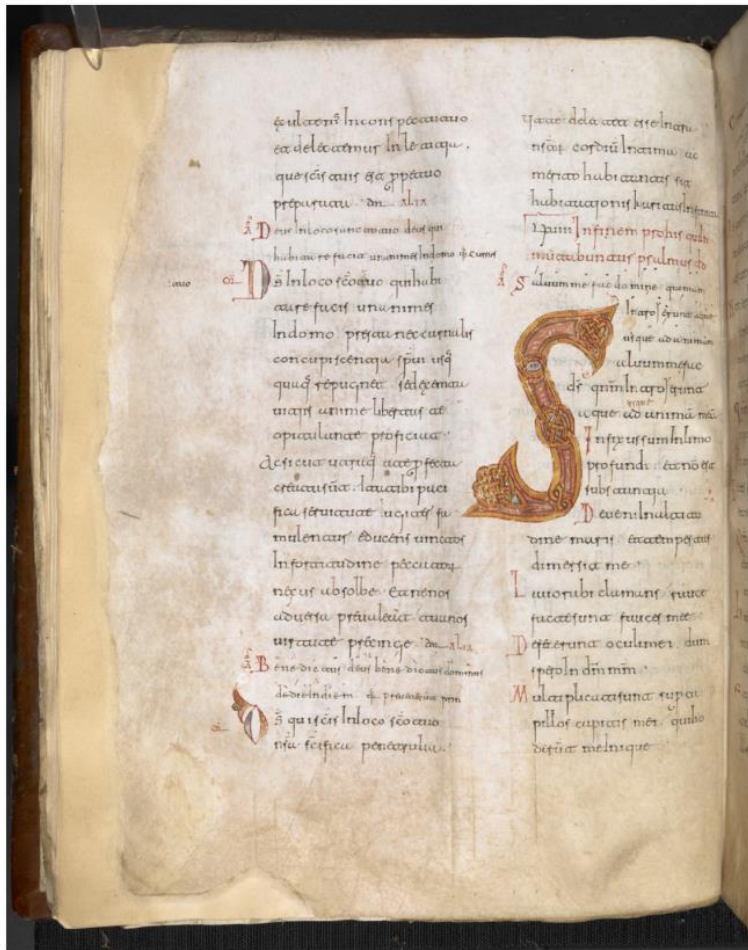


Insert Figure 2. BL51, f. 10v – Ps. 17 with antiphon (*Suscepimus Deus*) preceding psalm text in smaller script, with oration starting *Suscepimus Deus* in second column marked with rubric *OR*

⁴⁷ Considerable work on the psalmic orations, their meaning and message, is found in Pinell, *Liber orationum* (supra n. 43), and Idem, *Liturgia Hispánica* (supra n. 7), p. 71-100.



Insert Figure 3. BL51, f. 27v – end of Ps. 67 with two additional antiphons (marked *Alia*; the first – *Deus in loco* – is not neumed, the second – *Benedictus Deus* – is) and orations (marked *OR*); beginning of Ps. 68 with antiphon (*Salvum me fac*)



BL51 is not the only psalter to contain such information. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10001 (henceforth BN01), is a twelfth-century psalter preserved in Toledo with annotations that some scholars have linked to the parish church of Santa Eulalia in that city⁴⁸. The manuscript contains one notated antiphon per psalm. In longer psalms, a separate antiphon is associated with each section⁴⁹. Unlike BL51, BN01 contains no orations. While less comprehensive, the presence in BN01 of similar material to that found in BL51 further suggests that psalters might preserve liturgical information. According to Brou, this

⁴⁸ Anscari M. MUNDÓ, « La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos », *Hispania Sacra*, 18, 1965, p. 1-25, at p. 14. See also BROU, « Notes », (*supra* n. 19), p. 24-5 ; FERNÁNDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Historia de la música española I: Desde los orígenes hasta el « ars nova »*, Madrid, 2004 (Alianza música 86. Historia de la música española 1), p. 109 ; MILLARES CARLO ET AL., *Corpus de códices* (*supra* n 2), p. 112. Raquel Rojo Carrillo argues that there is no concrete evidence linking this manuscript with Santa Eulalia. See Raquel ROJO CARRILLO, « Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a local or of a wider tradition? », in *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Shared Common Spaces, 711-1517*, ed. by Yasmine BEALE-RIVAYA and Jason BUSIC, Leiden, 2018, p. 97-139.

⁴⁹ See further discussion below.

information merely served to facilitate the memorization of psalmic antiphons that were scattered throughout the liturgy of the year, without indicating a place for continuous psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite⁵⁰. Porter, on the other hand, noticed that many of the antiphon texts found in BN01 were also present in L8 (for the precise numbers, see Table 1).⁵¹ These shared antiphon texts are almost all assigned to the first three weeks of Lent in L8. During this period, the antiphons for the public services of matutinum, terce, sext, and none were based on psalms that ran in the order of the psalter: from Psalm 1 on the first Monday of Lent through to Psalm 147 on the last Saturday before the mid-point of Lent, the feast of *De Mediante*⁵². Porter concluded that BN01 preserves a three-week cycle of psalmody, related (but not identical) to that found in the first three weeks of Lent in L8. For Pinell, however, it was inconceivable that such a psalm cycle could have been reserved for the first three weeks of Lent alone. He concluded that the psalm+antiphon cycles preserved in L8, BL51 and BN01 must have been used also during ordinary ferial time, that is, on the weekdays of the quotidian weeks⁵³. Those compiling the Lenten liturgy would have repurposed this cycle for use in the first three weeks of Lent.

Table 1: ferial antiphon texts shared between L8 and BL51 and/or BN01

Manuscript	Number of antiphons	Antiphon texts shared with L8
L8 (ferial antiphons, alleluiatici, <i>matutinaria</i> in the first half of Lent) ⁵⁴	246	n/a
BL51 ⁵⁵	178	143
BN01	182	170 (plus four that are assigned to Lenten Sundays in L8)

Several additional features in BL51 further convinced Pinell that the psalter laid out psalmody for use in the public services.⁵⁶ As well as antiphons, BL51's psalter contains two

⁵⁰ BROU, « Le joyau » (*supra* n. 29), p. 109.

⁵¹ PORTER, « Studies » (*supra* n. 37), p. 285-86.

⁵² A number of psalms were reserved for the office of vespers in this three-week period ; some were used as *alleluiatici* and some as antiphons. See PORTER, « Studies », p.280-286 and PINELL, « Las missae », p. 154-171.

⁵³ PINELL, « Las missae », p. 173.

⁵⁴ This does not include the antiphons for the canonical Psalms 3 and 50.

⁵⁵ This does not include the antiphons for the canonical Psalm 50.

⁵⁶ PINELL, « Las missae », p. 172-176.

further related genres: *matutinaria* and *alleluiatici*. The *matutinaria* are chants sung towards the end of matutinum and are connected with a particular group of dawn-themed psalms⁵⁷. Each *matutinarium* was sung with a whole psalm⁵⁸. They are followed in the liturgy (albeit not immediately) by the three concluding prayers of the service: *completuria*, *pater noster*⁵⁹ and *benedictio*. After each *matutinarium*, BL51 provides all three of these prayers, pointing to the manuscript's use as a repository of matutinum chants⁶⁰. L8 shares 14 of BL51's 15 *matutinaria* texts, and assigns them to weekdays in the first three weeks of Lent, further strengthening his argument that these chants were intended for the ordinary ferial office. There is a second clear connection with the public services in BL51. A series of *alleluiatici*, or alleluatic antiphons, is included among the manuscript's psalm antiphons. This chant genre is used within both vespers and matutinum. Many texts of L8's ferial *alleluiatici* in the first half of Lent coincide with those in BL51, again suggesting a kinship between the intended uses of these two repertoires. BL51 additionally provides a series of antiphons for Psalm 50, one of the canonical psalms sung at matutinum⁶¹. Because of these features, Pinell concluded that «there is no doubt whatsoever that these two psalters [BL51 and BN01] were used for the offices of the *ordo cathedralis*»⁶². That is, he held that during ordinary ferial time, the entire psalter would have been recited over three weeks within the public services, and the necessary materials to support that practice are preserved in the two notated psalters BL51 and BN01; the orations absent in BN01 would presumably have been supplied by the *liber psalmographus*, or book of psalm collects, the ferial orational which Pinell spent much of his research life trying to reconstruct⁶³.

The conclusions of Pinell about psalmody in the public liturgy are based on a complex analysis that relies on certain problematic elements. The first challenge to this theory is that,

⁵⁷ *Matutinaria* are all drawn from the following psalms: 5, 18, 35, 42, 58, 62, 66, 75, 87, 89, 91, 100, 107, 129, 142 and verses 145-152 of psalm 118, on which see especially PINELL, «El “matutinarium” en la liturgia hispana», *Hispania Sacra*, 9, 1956, p. 61-85.

⁵⁸ This is confirmed by the ferial liturgy in S3 and the canonical litanies in BL45, where the entire psalms are written out. We wish to thank Raquel Rojo Carrillo for bringing this detail to our attention.

⁵⁹ Often signalled with *P* or *PR*.

⁶⁰ PINELL, «El oficio hispano-visigótico» (*supra* n. 14), p. 416-417.

⁶¹ In BL51, there are several different psalm 50 antiphons. See discussion of their assignments below.

⁶² «no cabe duda alguna que estos dos salterios [BL 51 and BN01] estuvieron en uso para los oficios del *ordo cathedralis*», PINELL, «El oficio hispano-visigótico» (*supra* n. 14), p. 418. See also IDEM, *Liber orationum* (*supra* n. 42), p. 9, 182.

⁶³ IDEM, «El oficio hispano-visigótico» (*supra* n. 14), p. 418-19. Pinell did not consider BL51 an example of the *liber psalmographus*, although he relied on it heavily in putting together his edition. IDEM, *Liber orationum* (*supra* n. 43), p. 9, 95-97, and 182-87.

as mentioned above, the Old Hispanic public services varied according to the time of year. During the penitential Lenten period, the public liturgy included the services of terce, sext and none⁶⁴. The distribution in psalm order of the antiphons in L8's Lenten cycle is therefore divided over the five services of matutinum, terce, sext, none and vespers. Outside penitential time (Lent and litanies), the public liturgy did not include terce, sext and none, as Pinell himself remarked several times⁶⁵. If the regular public cursus in ordinary time included only vespers and matutinum (plus the Mass), the psalms would not fit into a three-week cycle. Only three antiphons (and their psalms) per day would be drawn from the whole psalter, together with a *matutinarium* (drawn from a limited repertoire and restricted to certain psalms) and two *alleluiatici* (again, restricted to particular psalms; the vespers *alleluiatici* in L8's first half of Lent are drawn exclusively from Ps. 118, for example – see table 2). There are simply insufficient opportunities for psalmody in the public office to cycle through the entire psalter in three weeks, as proposed by Pinell.

Table 2: Variable daily psalmody in the Old Hispanic public liturgy (services sung only during penitential times are shaded)

Service	Daily opportunities for psalmody in Lent	Daily opportunities for psalmody outside Lent
Matutinum	3 psalms (+ antiphons and orations; one is an alleluiaticus, from a limited selection of psalms) 1 <i>matutinarium</i> – from a limited selection of psalms	3 psalms (+ antiphons and orations; one is an alleluiaticus, from a limited selection of psalms) 1 <i>matutinarium</i> – from a limited selection of psalms
Terce	3 psalms (+ antiphons and orations)	
Sext	3 psalms (+ antiphons and orations)	

⁶⁴ The *liber horarum* Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, 3.33 (henceforth T3) preserves the cloistered liturgy. This manuscript preserves a distinct version of Terce for Lent (variable readings and chants), and some variable elements during Lent in Sext and None (the responsories vary). It may be that this manuscript preserves a practice in which the public liturgy for Lent was not followed for these services, despite canon 2 of the fourth Toledo council, and a simple repetitive private liturgy was used instead (*supra* n. 6). On the shape of Terce, see HORNBY ET AL, *An Introduction*, Chapter 3 (*supra* n. 9). On this manuscript, see a summary of the bibliography at <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20197> (accessed 3 March 2019).

⁶⁵ PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 400 ; IDEM, *Liturgia Hispánica* (*supra* n. 7), p. 226 ; IDEM, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17, 198.

None	3 psalms (+ antiphons and orations)	
Vespers	2 psalms (+ antiphons and orations; one of the antiphons is from Ps. 118	2 psalms (+ antiphons and orations; one of the antiphons is from Ps. 118
TOTAL	15 psalms – of which 2 from a limited selection and 1 from Ps. 118	6 psalms – of which 2 from a limited selection and 1 from Ps. 118

One manuscript that has been consistently overlooked in discussion of the ordinary ferial public liturgy is the eleventh-century *liber ordinum*, Silos, Biblioteca del monasterio, 3 (henceforth S3)⁶⁶. This priest's manual includes public services for four ordinary ferial days, from vespers on Monday (feria II) to matutinum on Thursday (feria V) under the rubric *Ordo de cotidiano infra hebdomada*⁶⁷. Importantly, this ordo omits terce, sext and none. The manuscript only preserves the public services of vespers and matutinum for the ordinary ferial weekdays, each of which has an assigned set of chants and orations (see table 3)⁶⁸. Comparison of these chants with those found in L8 for the first three weeks of Lent reveals some matches, as can be seen in Table 3, although not with the same assignments. To give just one example, the antiphon *Deus deus meus* (from Ps. 21) has the assignment Feria III at matutinum in S3, and the assignment Feria V at matutinum for week 1 of Lent in L8; several other chants are used at matutinum in S3 but at terce in L8. Chants are shared much less between S3 and BL51 than between S3 and BN01, which could suggest that different institutions drew on slightly different repertoires of psalmic antiphons. Most of the vespers chants in S3 are unica. The lack of overlap between the manuscripts is compounded by the

⁶⁶ Pinell mentions S3 in IDEM, *Liber orationum* (*supra* n. 43), p. 9, 188-190, but makes very little of its contents and of the lack of overlap with other manuscripts. He discusses it elsewhere in IDEM, « Los textos » (*supra* n. 14), p. 148 ; IDEM, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 394. For a summary of this manuscript's contents and further bibliography, see <http://musicahispanica.eu/source/20177> (accessed 3 March 2019).

⁶⁷ The absence of feria VI and sabbato is a mystery. In the colophon that directly follows feria V, the scribe draws attention to his hard work in copying the manuscript, but provides no explanation for cutting short the contents: « Venimus ad portum libelli nimio sudore confecti. Quia sicut naviganti desiderabilis est portus, ita scripturi novissimus versus. Et tria quidem digita scribunt, set totum corpus laborat. Obsecro quisquis legeris retro tene digitos ne litteram ledas. Qui enim nescit scribere nullum reputat laborem. Ora pro Johanne presbitero scriptore, si Christum habeas protectorem ». José JANINI (ed.), *Liber ordinum sacerdotal* (*Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico 3*), Silos, 1981 (*Studia Silensia*, 7), p. 200.

⁶⁸ JANINI (ed.), *Liber ordinum sacerdotal* (*supra* n. 68), p. 190-200.

fact that S3 provides for less than one week's worth of chants, with no indication that there would have been more weeks to follow (even though the scribe cut off short, the rubric provides for *infra hebdomada*, in the singular), whereas L8 provides for a three week cycle in the first half of Lent, which Pinell saw as the model for the ordinary ferial cycle for the rest of the year. The most important difference, however, is that S3 does not bear witness to continuous psalmody; the psalms simply do not run in psalter order over the offices as they do in L8⁶⁹. This leaves us with two possibilities: either S3, intended for use by a local priest, provides a different, more simplified ordo for ferial quotidian time than would have been celebrated in a well-resourced institution such as that for which L8 was compiled; or the first three weeks of Lent as found in L8 do not provide the ordinary ferial liturgy, *pace* Pinell⁷⁰.

Table 3: Silos 3, antiphons in the ferial quotidian office

Day	Type	Chant text	Source	Parallels in Psalters (BL51, BN01)	Parallels in L8 (with assignment)
Feria II, vespers	Ant	<i>Adimple nos letitia</i> Verse: <i>Delectationes</i>	Ps. 15:11 Ps. 15:11	BL51	
	All	<i>Adimple nos letitia</i> <i>alleluia</i> Verse: <i>Ut cognoscamus</i>	Ps. 15:11 Ps. 66 :3	unicum	
Feria III, mat	Ant	<i>Deus deus meus</i> Verse: <i>Longe a salute</i>	Ps. 21:2 Ps. 21:2	BN01	L8 (XLma 1 V mat)
	Ant	<i>Narrabo nomen tuum</i> Verse: <i>Tu autem</i>	Ps. 21:23 Ps. 21:4	BN01	L8 (XLma 1 V mat)
	All	<i>Alleluia</i> (x3) Verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Ps. 104:1	BN01 feria II and fer III	
	Mat	<i>Preceptum domini</i> Verse: WHOLE PSALM	Ps. 18: 9 Ps. 18	BN01	L8 (XLma 1 III)
Feria III, vespers	Ant	<i>Ad vesperum demorabitur</i> Verse: <i>Ut cognoscamus</i>	Ps. 29:6 Ps. 66:3	unicum	
	All	<i>Dirigatur oratio</i>	Ps 140:2	unicum	

⁶⁹ The antiphons of matutinum could be said to follow some sort of order: Ps. 21 (Fer III), 23 (Fer IV), 27 and 28 (Fer V). However, the vespers antiphons seem to run in no particular order: Ps. 15 (Fer II), 29 (Fer III) and 141 (Fer IV). Some of the vespers antiphons and alleluiatici have verses that are not based on the same psalm as the antiphon itself, e.g. *Vespertina oratio*, which is from Ps. 140, but its verse is from Ps. 118. This does not suggest continuous psalmody.

⁷⁰ On the liturgical duties of a local priest (which included « singing the hours », according to at least one charter that documents payment to the priest Sagulfu for this duty), see Wendy DAVIES, « Local Priests in northern Iberia », in *Men in the Middle: Local priests in early medieval Europe*, ed. by Stephen PATZOLD and Carine VAN RHIJN, Berlin and Boston, 2016, p. 125-44.

		Verse: <i>Lucerna pedibus</i>	Ps 118:105		
Feria IV, mat	Ant	<i>Ipse super maria</i> Verse: <i>Domine est terra</i>	Ps. 23:2 Ps 23:1	BN01	L8 (XLma 1 V tert)
	Ant	<i>Dominus virtutum ipse</i> Verse: <i>Tollite portas</i>	Ps. 23:10 Ps. 23: 7	Unicum	
	All	<i>Alleluia</i> (x4) Verse: <i>Laudate Dominum</i>	Ps. 116:1	BN01	
	Mat	<i>In tuo deus lumine</i> Verse: WHOLE PSALM	Ps. 35:10 Ps. 35	BN01	
Feria IV, vespers	Ant	<i>Intende voci orationis</i> Verse: <i>Verba mea</i>	Ps. 5:3 Ps. 5:2	Unicum	
	All	<i>Verba mea auribus</i> <i>percipe</i> Verse: <i>O domine ego</i>	Ps. 5:2 Ps. 115:7	Unicum	
Feria V, mat	Ant	<i>Dominus adiutor meus</i> Verse: <i>Et refluuit</i>	Ps. 27:7 Ps. 27:7	BN01	L8 (XLma 1 VI tert)
	Ant	<i>In templo domini</i> Verse: <i>Dominus virtutem</i>	Ps. 28:9 Ps. 28:10	BN01	L8 (litanies, mat; also XLma I VI tert)
	All	<i>Alleluia</i> (x 5) Verse: <i>Laudate pueri</i>	Ps. 112:1	BN01	
	Mat	<i>Emitte lucem</i> Verse: WHOLE PSALM	Ps. 42:3 Ps. 42	BL51, BN01	

Psalmody within the cloistered services: Day and night

In Benedictine practice, as noted above, the daytime cloistered services are a crucial component in the weekly psalm cycle. This is not the case in the Old Hispanic liturgy. Isidore's rule included the singing of three psalms at each of terce, sext and none, but he did not indicate whether these were canonical (i.e. fixed) or variable. Certainly by the eleventh century, the psalms for the day offices were fixed. This is attested by the *libri horarum* in S7 and Toledo Cathedral Library MS 33.3 (T3) (see Table 4). As can be seen in Table 1, above, and Table 4, below, in these *libri horarum* each service has fixed psalms which repeat every day and do not run in psalter order. There is no opportunity for continuous psalmody in these day services. We see a distinctly monastic practice for celebrating the hours of terce, sext and none that differs entirely from the shape of the Lenten liturgy in L8.

Table 4: Psalmody in the cloistered day services

	Fixed psalmody	Manuscripts
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Primam et Secundam	66, 144, 112, 118 iv- vi, 50	S7
Tertiam	94, 118 vii-ix	S7, T3 (end of office only – not the psalmody – after a lacuna)
Quartam et Quintam	118 x-xv, 56	S7, T3
Sextam	53, 118 xvi-xviii	S7, T3
Septam et Octavam	118 xix-xxii, 119, 120, 85	S7, T3
Nonam	145, 122, 123	T3
Decimam, Undecimam et Duodecimam	140, 124-131 ⁷¹ (9 psalms)	S7, T3
Ad Completam	4 vii-x, 133, 90	S7, T3 (fragmentary; only psalm 133 is preserved)

We find far more compelling evidence for regular psalmody in the Old Hispanic cloistered night services (see Table 5). Isidore of Seville's *Rule* provides the earliest description of the cloistered liturgy in Spain. He specifies that «on the daily offices of vigils, first three psalms should be sung, then three missae of psalms, a fourth of canticles and a fifth of the matins office [matutinum]. On Sundays or on the feasts of martyrs, because of their solemnity, a single missa should be added to these»⁷². Following a group of three psalms – perhaps the three canonical psalms assigned to the night office in later liturgical manuscripts (psalms 3, 50 and 56) – Isidore here refers to missae. Following the familiar pattern of missae in the Old Hispanic liturgy, each of these presumably comprises three psalms followed by a responsory. After three of these sets (totalling nine psalms), a *missa* of canticles (i.e. three canticles and a responsory) should follow. This is followed by a fifth *missa* «of the office of matutinum» (*matutinorum officiorum*), that is, belonging to the public liturgy service of matutinum⁷³.

⁷¹ On f.1, T3 has psalm 132, which may be part of the same service.

⁷² Cap. 6.4: « In quotidianis vero officiis vigiliarum primum tres psalmi canonici recitandi sunt, deinde tres missae psalmodum, quarta canticorum, quinta matutinorum officiorum. In Dominicis vero diebus, vel festivitatis martyrum, solemnitate causa singulae superadjiciendae sunt missae ». ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Rule*, P.L. 83 (*supra* n. 17), col. 876. Translated in TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 116.

⁷³ E.g. PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17, 234.

Isidore's rule therefore prescribed a single monastic night service⁷⁴. Either it included nine psalms on ferias and twelve psalms on Sundays and major feast days, or it always included nine psalms, and on Sundays and major feast days, matutinum had two missae rather than one. Adding to these the three psalms stipulated by Isidore for each of terce, sext and none, and the two at vespers, we might expect there to have been a total of 20 psalms sung each day, and maybe 23 on Sundays⁷⁵. There is little evidence that a rule such as Isidore's became standardized or was adopted in monasteries in any consistent form⁷⁶. It is nevertheless very similar to a rule found in a ninth-century manuscript attributed to the female monastery of Bobadilla in Galicia, suggesting that it continued to serve as a model for monastic practice in at least some institutions⁷⁷.

Table 5: Psalmody in the night services according to the Iberian monastic rules

	Isidore	Fructuosus
Compline		10 psalms
Ante lectulo (as they go to bed)		3 psalms
Before midnight		12 psalms
	3 canonical psalms	
Medium noctis (midnight)	Missa of 3 psalms (presumably + 1 responsory)	3 psalms + 1 responsory
	Missa of 3 psalms (presumably + 1 responsory)	3 psalms + 1 responsory
	Missa of 3 psalms (presumably + 1 responsory)	3 psalms + 1 responsory
	Missa of 3 canticles (presumably + 1 responsory)	3 psalms + 1 responsory

⁷⁴ Cap. 6: « Post vigiliis autem usque ad matutinum requiescendum, aut aliquid perlegendum erit ». ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Regula Monachorum*, P.L. 83, col. 877.

⁷⁵ TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (supra n. 6), p. 116. There is no mention of what was to be done at Compline.

⁷⁶ A recent PhD thesis has analysed the rules, although not with a focus on the liturgy: Neil ALLIES, « The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Iberia: A study of their text and language », PhD, University of Birmingham, 2009 ; also IDEM, « The Sermo Plebeius and the spoken language in the monastic rule of Isidore of Seville », in *In search of the medieval voice*, ed. by Lorna BLEACH ET AL, Newcastle, 2009, p. 3-18.

⁷⁷ The manuscript is El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, A.I.13, on which see PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (supra n. 3), p. 17, 232-233. Pinell includes the manuscript's description of nocturns: « In nocturnis autem orationibus cotidie recitandos psalmos primus canonicos tres, deinde tres missas de psalterio cum tribus responsorios, quarta de canticis, lectiones due, laudes et imnus, oratio dominica ».

Nocturns		12 Psalms
Post-Nocturns/Ad gallicantum		3 psalms
<i>Ordo Peculiaris</i> * (optional)		3 psalms*
Sundays and Major feasts	3 psalms + 1 responsory = missa	6 psalms + 2 responsories
TOTAL:	9 psalms	49 psalms + 3 optional psalms*
TOTAL SUNDAYS/MAJOR FEASTS:	12 psalms (or 9 if the extra missa refers to matutinum)	55 psalms + 3 optional psalms*

The rule of Fructuosus of Braga (ca. 630-35), seemingly intended for the monastery of Compludo, just west of Astorga, has a different pattern of psalmody for the night services with a considerably larger number of psalms, summarised in Table 5, above⁷⁸. Compline includes six prayers and ten psalms with lauds and benedictions, with an additional three psalms as the monks go to bed (*ante lectulo*)⁷⁹. In contrast to Isidore's single night service, Fructuosus then instructs the monks to rise at least three times over the course of the night, each time singing twelve psalms; an optional *ordo peculiaris* of three psalms is also prescribed, if time permit⁸⁰. The midnight service corresponds roughly to Isidore's vigil, specifying four responsories, each accompanied by a group of three psalms (Fructuosus does

⁷⁸ An additional few monasteries are associated with Fructuosus, including San Pedro de los Montes, San Félix de Visona and Peonense. See ALLIES, « Monastic Rules », p. 27.

⁷⁹ FRUCTUOSUS OF BRAGA, *Rule*, in Claude BARLOW (ed.), *The Fathers of the Church: Iberian Fathers, Vol. 2: Braulio of Zaragoza, Fructuosus of Braga*, Washington, DC, 1969 (Fathers of the church, 63), p. 156-157. On our classification of compline within the night liturgy, see *supra* n. 39.

⁸⁰ « Ita ante mediam surgentes noctem duodenos per choros recitent psalmos, [secundum consuetudinem, prius tamen quam surgant caeteri, a vigiliariis fratribus praepositus excitetur, et cum benedictione sua et signum moveatur, et cunctorum lectula ab eo priusquam consurgant strenue visitentur. Hoc quoque in omnibus nocturnis orationibus gerat, ut semper prior surgat praepositus, quam ad consurgendum reliqui moneantur, ut ipse videat quis quomodo jaceat, ne aliquam lasciviam per incuriam quietionis suae dormiens incurrat]. Post pausantes paululum medium noctis persolvant officium, ubi quatuor responsoria sub ternorum psalmodum divisione concinantur. [Sic post mediam noctem, si hiemis tempus est, sedentibus cunctis, unus medio residens releget librum, et ab abbate, vel a praeposito, disserente caeteris simplicioribus quod legitur patefiat. Quod quidem et aestate post vesperam conservetur, ut priusquam compleant liber legatur.] Ita denique duodenis iterum cantatis psalmis adeant cubilia, paululumque quiescentes, gallicinio jam sonante, recitatis tribus psalmis, cum laude et benedictione sua matutinum celebrent sacrificium ». FRUCTUOSUS OF BRAGA, *Rule*, in BARLOW, *Iberian Fathers* (*supra* n. 76), p. 158. See also TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 119-120 for a summary.

not specifically mention canticles)⁸¹. Like Isidore, Fructuosus ascribed fewer psalms to weekdays (49) than to Saturdays, Sundays and major feast days (55). His provision seems to be closer to the stipulation made several centuries later at the Council of Compostela in 1055 that at least fifty psalms should be said each day.

None of the rules lay out the components of the night liturgy in detail, beyond the number of psalms. Three mid-eleventh century *libri horarum* preserve these materials, however: BL51, Sant and Sal, with the beginning of *Medium Noctis* and nocturns for Sundays also preserved in S7⁸². Together these manuscripts provide a coherent picture of how the cloistered night liturgy unfolded in the eleventh century, at least in some practices (for a detailed break-down of the contents, see Table 6). BL51, Sant, Sal and S7 all contain an *Ordo ad Medium Noctis*, which stipulates – among other materials – nine psalms *qui sequuntur in ordine* (BL51) or *de ordine psalterii* (S7) and a group of canticles. The *Ordo ad Nocturnos* for Sundays, Eastertide and feast days includes a set of canonical psalms (46, 99, 116, 119-133), followed by three canticles, whereas for weekdays, after the canonical psalms (3, 50 and 56), Sant and Sal include the instruction that «psalms are to be recited from the psalter which follow in order»⁸³. The rubric follows Isidore's *Rule* closely here, specifying three groups of three psalms, each group followed by a responsory. While this rubric is absent from BL51, the manuscript shares the four responsories present in Sant and Sal, which implies the same structure. The *Ordo Post Nocturnos* begins with instructions in Sant and Sal that twelve psalms be sung in psalter order⁸⁴. In total, therefore, we find instructions for the weekday singing of thirty variable psalms over the course of the night liturgy, in psalter order (*in*

⁸¹ There is a less close correspondence between the night liturgy stipulations of Fructuosus and Isidore than is suggested by TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 120. « Psalmos qui potuerit plus recitare, recitet ; qui non plus, quinquaginta die omni persolvat. Et omnibus horis, prima, tertia, sexta, vespertinis et completoriis, medium noctis, nocturnis et matutinis omni die persolvat ». FÉROTIN, *Liber mozarabicus* (*supra* n. 15), col. 769. See also BARLOW, *Iberian Fathers* (*supra* n. 76), p. 156-159. For a schematic comparison of the rules of Isidore and Fructuosus with the liturgical manuscripts, see PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 409.

⁸² See *supra* n. 19-20. In addition to these, the late-10th century/early 11th century Archivo capitular, Santo Domingo de la Calzada W./O.S. consists of a single fragment leaf of a *liber horarum*, containing hymns and responsories for Wednesday nocturns. See ZAPKE ET AL, *Hispania Vetus*, (*supra* n. 2), p. 284.

⁸³ « Post haec recitantur de psalterio psalmi qui sequuntur in ordine, tres missas sub ternorum psalmorum numero dedicatas et quarta de canticis qui similiter in ordine occurrunt. Et per singulas missas singula responsoria decantentur ». Sant: f. 215v, Sal: f. 165r. S7 is lacking this information, probably cut off from the end of the manuscript.

⁸⁴ « Deinde xii psalmos qui in ordine occurrunt de psalterio, ubi ad nocturnos steteras ». Sant: f. 222r ; Sal: f. 158v. Because BL51 contains the same responsories, although it is missing this rubric, we assume that its *Nocturnos* likely followed the same structure.

ordine). On Sundays, there would have been six extra psalms in *Nocturnos* and another twelve in the *Ordo post-completam*, also in psalter order⁸⁵. Over the course of a week, therefore, those following this cloistered practice would proceed through 228 psalms or sections of longer psalms (Ps. 118, for example, is routinely divided up into several sections)⁸⁶. Nor was this practice necessarily reserved to monasteries alone. L8, a cathedral antiphoner, contains a list of responsories for *Nocturnos* at the end that corresponds closely to those found in the cloistered night services⁸⁷. It may be that cathedrals – particularly those with large clerical staffs – were by the tenth-century practising the night liturgy following the monastic tradition.

Table 6: Psalm distribution in the cloistered night services in the *libri horarum*

Office	Variable Psalms	Canonical psalms	Manuscripts
Post-Completam (only Sundays)	12 psalms <i>in ordine</i>	50	S7, BL51
Medium Noctis	9 psalms <i>in ordine</i>	41 ⁸⁸ , 132, 133	BL51, Sant, Sal, S7
Nocturnos (Sundays)	15 psalms (taken from psalms 119-133)	46, 99, 116	BL51, Sant, Sal, S7
Nocturnos (weekdays)	9 psalms <i>in ordine</i>	3 ⁸⁹ , 50 ⁹⁰ , 56 ⁹¹	BL51, Sant, Sal
Post-nocturnos	12 psalms <i>in ordine</i>		BL51, Sant, Sal

⁸⁵ S7 includes the rubric: « In diebus vero dominicis sive festivitibus praecipuis canuntur xii psalmi, qui sequuntur in ordine ». FLORES ARCAS, *Las horas diurnas* (*supra* n. 14), p. 174. This rubric has been cut off at the beginning in BL51, which nevertheless reads: « ... usque xiim psalmi recipientur. Laudes. A laqueo venantium et ymni qui secuntur. In diebus vero cotidianis non dicitur responsum nec lectionem neque a psallendum. In diebus autem dominicis vel precipuorum psollemnitatibus finitis in ordine psalmi dicitur hunc responsum vel lectione qui sequuntur ». (f. 163 ; GILSON, *Mozarabic Psalter* (*supra* n. 37), p. 292).

⁸⁶ To divide up longer psalms into separate sections for liturgical use is standard practice in the Roman liturgy as well.

⁸⁷ L8, f. 295r-295v, Louis BROU and José VIVES (eds), *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe de la catedral de León. Edición del texto notas e índices*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1959 (Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra. Serie litúrgica V, 1), p. 489-490.

⁸⁸ This psalm has no antiphon in the BL51 psalter.

⁸⁹ Lacks antiphons in BN01 ; missing in a lacuna from BL51.

⁹⁰ Lacks antiphons in BN01.

⁹¹ Lacks antiphons in BN01 and BL51.

TOTAL	228		
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It is important to consider the material that surrounded these psalms, because of an argument made by Pinell about night psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite. Throughout his numerous studies, he consistently claimed that the cloistered night services involved recitation of full psalms *without* antiphons or collects⁹². He based this on the fact that the manuscripts for the night liturgy have explicit instructions for only a single antiphon sung at the beginning of each service, followed by groupings of psalms with no mention of further antiphons⁹³. Upon closer inspection, however, only the chant *Reple Deus* (based on Ps. 125:2) that begins *Nocturnos* on Sundays is rubricated as an antiphon; no other night service mentions antiphons at any point. Should we conclude from this that there were no antiphons sung in the night liturgy? This seems an unnecessarily literal reading. Pinell additionally claimed that Isidore's rule prescribed the singing of psalms in quick succession during all services, which – according to him – would not have allowed for antiphons⁹⁴. But while Isidore does not explicitly mention any antiphons around the psalmody, it does not mean there were none. Even the earliest liturgical manuscripts indicate antiphons were sung at the public services, which Isidore specifies in his rule should be performed in the same way as all others. We suggest that either the singing of antiphons accrued after Isidore set down his Rule, or generally psalms were sung with antiphons, which were simply not mentioned by Isidore.

⁹² « Los salmos y cánticos, en el oficio monástico, no llevan antifonas ni oraciones. Se alternan simplemente con los responsorios ». Cf. PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17 and 216-217. See also IDEM, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 417 and IDEM, « Las missae », p. 146, 184-85. This interpretation is also followed by WOOLFENDEN, *Daily Liturgical Prayer* (*supra* n. 3), p. 78, where he notes that around 30 psalms would be sung in the cloistered night liturgy.

⁹³ PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 417.

⁹⁴ « Recitantibus autem monachis, post consummationem singulorum psalmorum prostrati omnes humi pariter adorabunt, celeriterque surgentes psalmos sequentes incipiant, eodemque modo per singula officia faciant ». ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Rule*, P.L. 83 (*supra* n. 17), col. 876. On which see, PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17, 234. « While the monks are reciting [the psalms], after the completion of each psalm all together make adoration prostrate on the ground, then quickly rising up let them begin the psalms that follow and in this way let them do every office ». Translated by TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours* (*supra* n. 6), p. 116. This could be supported by the records of the councils of Agde (506) and Barcelona (540), which specify that « after the antiphons, collects should be said in order by bishops or priests », although this could apply to the public office only, as Pinell argued: « Et quia convenit ordinem ecclesiae ab omnibus aequaliter custodiri, studendum est, sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur ». See PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17 and 236. He also argued that this was a local, Eastern Iberian practice that was not reflective of what happened in the rest of the peninsula.

The question of whether antiphons were sung with each psalm in the night services is further complicated by the ambiguous use of terminology. Isidore and Fructuosus refer in their Rules to *missae psalmorum* – *missae* made up of psalms – when referring to the grouping of three psalms mentioned for the night office *Ad Nocturnos*⁹⁵. On the other hand, a *missa* in the antiphoners and *libri orationum* generally refers to a grouping of two antiphons and an alleluia (not necessarily all psalmic), together with a responsory, which appears in matutinum⁹⁶. Scholars have tended to see an evolution of practice in these different uses of the term *missa*: what may have originated as a tradition of reciting three complete psalms, evolved into one of singing three antiphons, each followed only by a single verse or short section derived from a psalm or from another biblical book entirely⁹⁷. This evolutionary interpretation does not allow for the possibility, however, that the term *missa* continued to be used in one context for a grouping of psalmic antiphons with entire psalms as their verses (followed by a responsory), and in another for a set of two psalmic/non-psalmic antiphons plus psalmic/non-psalmic alleluia, each with a single psalmic verse (followed by a responsory). The first kind of *missa* may well have been limited to the cloistered night services, whereas the second became characteristic of the public matutinum service, but there is no reason to conclude from the terminology that psalms in the cloistered night liturgy did not have antiphons and collects. If anything, the fact that the term could so easily be transferred to a group of two antiphons and an alleluia (all with orations) not necessarily based on the psalms suggests that the key shared elements were the antiphons, orations and following responsory, not the psalms. All of this points to the possibility that antiphons were indeed sung with the psalms during the cloistered night liturgy.

If antiphons were indeed sung with psalms in the cloistered night liturgy, the liturgical contents of BL51's psalter can be understood in an entirely new way. Here we find each psalm accompanied by one or more antiphons and their corresponding orations. In the same

⁹⁵ This was further explained in PINELL, « Las missae », especially p. 146, although the article is generally about the missae within matutinum. He reprises this assessment in IDEM, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17 and 216.

⁹⁶ PINELL, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 403-404.

⁹⁷ « En el oficio monástico, la palabra *missa* significa un grupo de tres salmos o de tres cánticos. Entre *missa* y *missa* se canta un responsorio. En el ordo catedral, significa el complejo de las tres antífonas – la tercera, alleluia según la tradición A -, con sus tres salmos – en el oficio ferial ordinario -, o con los versículos de salmos – en el oficio festivo y dominical - ; comprende además las tres oraciones correspondientes a los tres salmos o a las tres antífonas. ... La forma más primitiva de las *missae* se halla, sin duda, en el ordo monástico ». PINELL, *Las horas vigiliares* (*supra* n. 3), p. 17, 216, 217 and see also IDEM, « El oficio hispano-visigótico » (*supra* n. 14), p. 420-25, and generally, IDEM, « Las missae ».

codex, we also find the *liber horarum*, which contains the liturgical contents of the cloistered night liturgy – including instructions for continuous psalmody. The *liber horarum* includes the responsories that would have followed each *missa* of three antiphons and their psalms and orations, but not the antiphons or orations themselves. These antiphons and orations are nevertheless found in the psalter, along with their corresponding psalms. The pairing of the two parts of the codex starts to seem less accidental than purposeful: the psalter provided the material for continuous psalmody absent from the *liber horarum*. It might therefore be worth asking whether this codex is in fact what Pinell referred to as the *liber psalmographus*, which is described in one tenth-century charter as a «psalmographic book of hours and prayers» (*liber psalmogravum orarum et precum in una forma*); it is distinguished in the same charter from another *liber horarum* (*alium orarum in una forma*)⁹⁸. The distinction could lead us to think of the *psalmographus* as a book of psalmic antiphons and orations, together with the cloistered services, and the *horarum* as a book only of cloistered services (like S7). BL51's psalter with antiphons and orations, together with the cloistered night liturgy, certainly coincides neatly with the description of the first of these two books.

Cycling through psalmody in BL51

Before concluding that the psalter in BL51 indeed provided for the continuous psalmody of the night liturgy, we must first understand how the psalmody reflected in the book was meant to be recited. We have seen that the *libri horarum* prescribe 228 psalms for use in the night liturgy over the course of a week. It remains to be seen how the material found in the psalter corresponds to the requirements of the *liber horarum*: what kind of cycle of psalmody does it reflect? Because BL51's psalter is not complete, however, it is not possible to establish with complete certainty how many opportunities for psalmody are being provided for. Using other manuscripts as guides, we can nevertheless outline the possibilities and draw some tentative conclusions.

In order to understand how many liturgical units for continuous psalmody the psalter includes, we must first establish whether psalms were recited in full or divided up into shorter

⁹⁸ A donation charter from 960 for the monastery of Sahagún includes the following entry: « de ministeria eglesie libros comunes II. Manuales II. Antiphonales II. Orationes festivos II. Et tertium **psalmo gravum orarum et precum** in una forma et alium orarum in una forma, passionum I. psalterium I. canticorum et imnorum in una forma ». See PINELL, «El “liber horarum” y el “misticus” entre los libros de la antigua liturgia hispana», *Hispania Sacra*, 8, 1955, p. 85-107, at p. 94.

sections, each of which would have functioned as a «psalm» in the liturgical context⁹⁹. In the case of forty-seven psalms, it appears that the full psalm was recited as a unit, each with a corresponding antiphon and oration¹⁰⁰. Rubrics in the psalter of BL51 suggest that other psalms were recited in sections. Twenty psalms in BL51 are divided into sections, using marginal markers (a letter «K» for «kaput») indicating where the psalm should be divided¹⁰¹. Many of these psalm divisions are shared with BN01. In BN01, every psalm with a section marker «K» has two antiphons, one for each section. This is further evidence that psalms or psalm sections were accompanied by antiphons; the correspondence of antiphons with individual sections suggests that, when a division does not appear, the entire psalm would have been sung with its single accompanying antiphon. In the case of nine psalms in BL51, each psalm section is provided with its own antiphon+oration pair, and each section was probably used for one instance where a psalm was required liturgically. A clear example is provided by Psalm 138, where the second antiphon, its oration and the indication for a division are all closely textually related. (fig. 4) Another illustrative example is Psalm 77 (fig. 5-7). On f.38v, we find two antiphons following the text of Psalm 77: *Non sunt rememorati* and *Adduxit eos in montem* (fig. 7). There are additionally two markers («K») placed next to Ps. 77: 26 and Ps. 77:53 (fig. 6). This suggests that the psalm would have been divided into three sections, each of which would have been accompanied by an antiphon, and used as a separate liturgical item. The other psalms of this kind have two sections each¹⁰². Here, then, it is likely that eight psalms each provided two psalm sections for liturgical use, and one psalm provided three sections, totalling nineteen psalm sections.

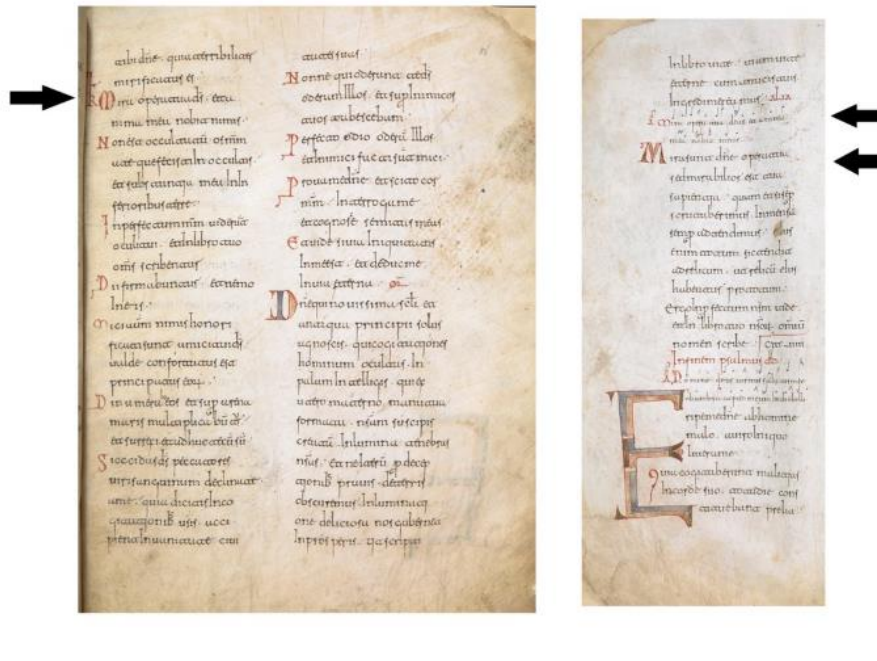
Insert: Figure 4. f. 86r-86v – Ps. 138 – division marker on f. 86r, followed by antiphon and oration based on this verse on f. 86v

⁹⁹ Division of psalms into sections, each of which was referred to as a « psalm », was typical in other liturgical traditions.

¹⁰⁰ Psalms 40, 44, 45, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63, 74, 76, 78-82, 86, 90, 92, 94-97, 99, 109, 119-128, 130, 132, 133, 136, 137, 139-141, 143.

¹⁰¹ These are Psalms 17, 39, 50, 51, 54, 67, 68, 70, 73, 77, 88, 101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 113, 131, 138, 144. On this phenomenon, see BROU, « Notes », (*supra* n. 19), p. 52-54.

¹⁰² These are Psalms 54, 68, 73, 101, 131, 138 and 144. We also include Psalm 17 here, although there is a lacuna at the beginning of the psalm, because it is highly likely that there was an antiphon at the beginning of the psalm to accompany the oration that has been preserved, as well as the further antiphon+oration pair copied after that first oration.



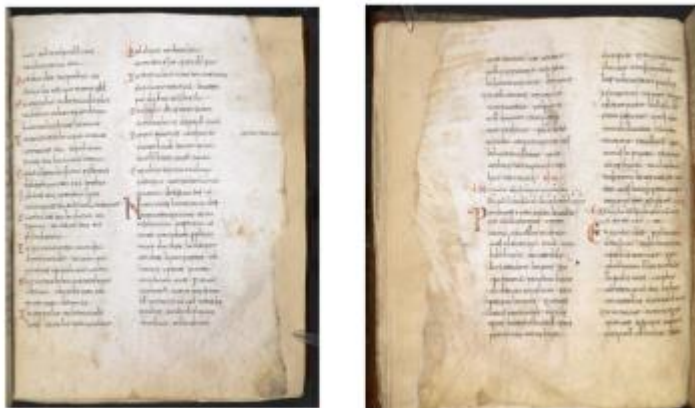
Insert: Figure 5. BL51, f. 36r-v – Psalm 77 with initial antiphon



Insert: Figure 6. BL51, f. 37r-v. f. 37r has «K» at Ps. 77:26; f. 37v has «K» at Ps. 77:53



Insert: Figure 7. BL51, f. 38r-v. f. 38r shows antiphon *Non sunt rememorati* and corresponding oration; f. 38v also shows antiphon *Adduxit eos in montem* and corresponding oration



There are nevertheless obstacles to determining how psalms were divided into sections across the manuscript, the first being the lacuna at the beginning of the manuscript. Psalms 1-14 and 18-36 have been lost and we have no way of telling how many of these psalms comprised more than one section, each with its own antiphon and oration pair. We can come to a tentative hypothesis about the question, though, by considering how many psalm sections are included in each of these psalms in BN01 and Sant. Each psalm has a single section (with a single antiphon), except:

- psalm 3: this has no antiphon in BN01, but is a major canonical psalm, discussed below;

- «diapsalma» marking in psalm 2, 7, 19 (BN01), twice in psalm 4 (BN01)
- Second antiphon and «K» in psalm 9, 21, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36 (BN01); five of these eight psalms are also divided in Sant¹⁰³.

While we cannot tell whether these divisions were the same in BL51 as in BN01 and Sant, we do get a sense of which psalms were generally considered long enough to divide into sections. It is therefore possible that the BL51 tradition had antiphon and oration pairs that matched each of the divisions given in BN01. These thirty-two psalms (not counting psalm 3) may have translated into as few as thirty-two psalms for liturgical use in the lost BL51 tradition, or as many as forty-five.

A further complication is raised by a number of cases where the number of divisions in the psalm does not match with the number of antiphon and oration pairs. In three cases, there is just one antiphon, although there are two or three sections¹⁰⁴. The psalm may have been sung as a single unit, or each section may have been sung separately, using the same antiphon. In some two-section psalms we find more than the required antiphons; as well as the second antiphon+oration pair that one would expect to encounter, there are also extra antiphon+oration pairs at the end¹⁰⁵, and/or extra antiphons incorporated into the psalm text (i.e. neumes written directly onto the psalm text rather than an antiphon being written in a distinctive, smaller script)¹⁰⁶. Either these extra antiphons were used for further psalm divisions that were not explicitly signalled, or each of these two-section psalms was furnished with optional alternative antiphons. Similarly, in the case of seventeen psalms in BL51, there are no internal divisions, but there are two antiphon+oration pairs¹⁰⁷. As with the previous examples, either each psalm would be sung as a single unit and there was a choice of antiphon or the psalm text was divided into sections that are not explicitly signalled¹⁰⁸. The second possibility is indicated by Psalm 72. It has a second antiphon that unusually indicates

¹⁰³ In Sant, the psalm division is marked with red initial in Psalm 9, 30 (second verse in that psalm), 32, and 34 ; it is marked with a red initial and K in Psalm 21.

¹⁰⁴ Psalm 51 has two sections ; Psalm 108 has three sections ; and Psalm 103, with two sections, ends with a lacuna, so we cannot confirm whether there was originally a second antiphon+oration pair here.

¹⁰⁵ Psalm 39: three antiphon+oration pairs ; two sections.

¹⁰⁶ Psalms 67, 70, 88: 2 antiphons in the psalm text, presumably sharing a single oration, then a further 2 antiphon+oration pairs ; two sections. In each case, BN01 has two psalm sections, each with an antiphon, and Sant has two psalm sections.

¹⁰⁷ Psalms 16, 38, 43, 46, 48, 59, 65, 69, 71, 72, 83, 84, 85, 93, 98, 102. We also count psalm 104 in this category. Although there is a lacuna at the opening, the psalm is followed by an oration – presumably to accompany the antiphon lost in the lacuna ; and then there is a further antiphon+oration pair. If there was originally a psalm division, it also is lost in the lacuna.

¹⁰⁸ In seven cases, the binding is so tight that we cannot confirm whether or not there was a section division in BL51: Psalms 43, 59, 65, 71, 84, 85, 93, 98.

the incipit of the verse – *Verum tamen* – which is Ps. 72:18 (fig. 8); there is nevertheless nothing at Ps. 72:18 in the psalm text to indicate an internal division (fig. 9). The fact that other manuscripts have divisions where BL51 has none further suggests that psalm divisions may not always have been indicated¹⁰⁹. In total, these cases with inconsistencies between the number of psalm sections and the number of antiphons+oration pairs total twenty-four psalms, providing between twenty-eight and fifty-six psalm sections for liturgical use.

Insert: Figure 8. BL51, f. 32v – second antiphon for Psalm 72 (*Nobis aderere*) and indication of verse *Verum tamen*



Insert: Figure 9. BL51, f. 32r – psalm text of Psalm 72, with nothing to indicate verse division at *Verum tamen* (Ps. 72:18)

¹⁰⁹ This is the case in Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, 64: Psalm 16 ; BN01: Psalm 16, 38, 43, 48, 65, 83 (twice), 84, 93. Sant: Psalm 16, 38, 65.



Further to determining how much of the psalm was sung at any one time, it is necessary to establish the role of canonical psalms in psalmody. There were seven such canonical psalms sung during the night liturgy every night. It is possible that canonical psalms were not additionally sung within the sequence of continuous psalmody, a hypothesis supported by the absence of any antiphons in BL51 for psalms 41 and 56, or in BN01 for psalm 3 (missing in a lacuna in BL51)¹¹⁰. In BL51, Psalm 50 is provided with no fewer than 15 antiphons, however (two of which are marginal additions). (see Fig. 10). Each is assigned to a day of the week, to each of the four Sundays in Lent (but not Palm Sunday), to the Advent season and to various commons of saints. This suggested to Pinell that they would have been used in the service of matutinum, because this is one of the canonical psalms said every day in that service. Psalm 50 played an important role in the night liturgy too. It was one of the canonical psalms sung at *Nocturnos* on weekdays and *Post-Completam* on Sundays. Hence, the psalter may provide for a full repertoire of psalm 50 antiphons that could have been sung in the night liturgy, but which could equally double for use in the public service of matutinum, when special chants were called for. Here, we should also mention psalms 148-150, sung every day at matutinum as «laudes, » none of which have antiphons in BL51¹¹¹. The numerous antiphons for Psalm 50 may be the exception that proves the rule: canonical psalms would have been so well known as to not require an antiphon recorded in the psalter, except when they changed according to occasion, as is the case with Psalm 50. We cannot draw definitive conclusions about whether these psalms were included in the

¹¹⁰ There are antiphons for Psalms 46, 99, 116, 132, and 133, although these are also canonical psalms in the night services. Psalms 3, 41 and 56 are nevertheless much more frequently used throughout the liturgy.

¹¹¹ They do have orations in BL51.

continuous psalmody or not, but the use of the above psalms as canonical psalms may partially explain the absence of corresponding antiphons in BL51.

Insert: Figure 10. BL51, f. 13v – Ps. 50 and additional antiphons for feria II through IV



The last complication to be resolved when determining how the psalter in BL51 may have served for the night liturgy is the presence of additional chants marked for specific use in the public office. *Matutinaria*, for example, were chants used in matutinum on ferial days, as discussed earlier, and fifteen of them are marked in BL51 with the rubric «M» (three further *matutinaria* are likely missing in the lacuna)¹¹². The repertoire provides for one *matutinarium* sung in matutinum on each day over three weeks (six ferias each week – they were not sung on Sundays)¹¹³. This is, indeed, the assignment found in L8, and it helps to explain why Pinell drew such a direct link between the Lenten repertoire and that found in the psalters. On closer inspection, however, almost all of these *matutinaria* could also have served as ferial antiphons. This is suggested by their rubrics: all but two are rubricated not only «M», but also «A» (for «antiphona»). In several cases, the rubrics announcing the prayers that follow are also suggestive. We have seen that *matutinaria* are followed by two prayers, a *completuria* and a *benedictio*¹¹⁴, whereas antiphons are followed by a single *oratio*¹¹⁵. Seven

¹¹² For an edition of the *matutinaria* and *completuria* texts, see PINELL, « El “matutinarium” » (*supra* n. 58).

¹¹³ BL51 is missing the *matutinaria* based on Psalms 5, 18, 35 (due to the lacuna), but has those based on 42, 58, 62, 64, 66, 75, 87, 89, 91, 100, 107, 117, 118 (v. 145-152), 129 and 142. BN01 provides all 18 *matutinaria*. Pinell only counted sixteen *matutinarium* psalms (missing out 64 and 117) in « El “matutinarium” », (*supra* n. 58) 62.

¹¹⁴ Those for Psalms 129 and 142 are rubricated only with « M ».

¹¹⁵ The rubric specifies a *completuria* in six cases: Psalms 42, 64, 89, 118, 129, 142.

of the psalms assigned *matutinaria* have no rubric for the prayer that follows, suggesting the prayer could function either as an *oratio* or a *completoria*¹¹⁶. In two cases (Ps. 62, 75), the *matutinarium* is followed by a prayer rubricated explicitly as an *oratio*, and then by another marked as a *benedictio*, again suggesting a dual function (since a *benedictio* follows the *matutinarium*+psalm+ *completoria* pair, while an *oratio* follows an antiphon+psalm pair; the rubric seems to provide for both options). Some of these psalms have only the *matutinarium* antiphon (62, 75, 129, one section of Psalm 118), where it possibly had a double function as an antiphon in the night liturgy. Ten psalms have an antiphon as well as a *matutinarium*; here it is most likely that these were dual function options, although there could have been an unsignalled psalm division, with the *matutinarium* providing for a second psalm section. For psalm 89 there are two antiphons and one *matutinarium*, although there is no explicit psalm division. It is possible that in ten of these fifteen psalms there were two psalm sections (with the *matutinarium* providing the antiphon for one of them in each case), and in psalm 89 there may have been three. If that is the case, then these psalms provided up to twenty-seven psalm sections for liturgical use. It is most likely, however, that these fifteen psalms provided fifteen psalm units for liturgical use (with the *matutinaria* as options).

A second chant generally reserved for the public services is the *alleluiaticus*, no fewer than forty of which are rubricated in BL51 with *ALL*¹¹⁷. The distinguishing feature of this chant type is the presence (outside Lent) of one or more alleluias, usually added to the psalmic text; in BL51, *alleluiatici* are assigned to psalms 105, 106, 110-118, 134, 135, 145-147. There are two possibilities that could explain their presence in the psalter. If *missae* in *Nocturnos* were anything like *missae* in matutinum, then each grouping of three psalms and their antiphons may have included an *alleluiaticus*, as was the case in the public services. The *alleluiatici* marked as such in the psalter could therefore have served this function in the night liturgy: as the third of three antiphons, having a special alleluiatic meaning. It is possible, however, that *missae* in the cloistered night liturgy differed from public matutinum and did not include *alleluiatici*. This could be inferred from the instructions for each of the night services to progress numerically through the psalter, with no reference to the presence of special alleluiatic psalms included in each *missa*. The rubrics in BL51 include two possibilities. In three cases, an undivided psalm has both an antiphon and an *alleluiaticus*

¹¹⁶ Psalms 58, 66, 87, 91, 100, 107, 117, one section of psalm 118.

¹¹⁷ Only the first verse of 118 is marked with an ALL.

assigned to it¹¹⁸. Here, either the antiphon and alleluiaticus were used in different contexts, or they were treated as alternatives, or the psalm was divided in practice although the division was not explicitly signalled (this seems less likely, but we include it as a possibility for the sake of completeness). In the remaining cases, there is only one chant and it is marked as an *alleluiaticus*¹¹⁹. Here, it is still possible that the chants participated in the continuous psalmody as normal antiphons; these psalms provide between 32 and 35 psalms or psalm sections for liturgical use.

When we add all of these psalms and psalm sections together, we find that BL51 very likely provided materials for between 173 and 229 separate psalm sections, each recited with an antiphon+oration pair, with the antiphon sometimes having a dual liturgical function elsewhere as a *matutinarium* or *alleluiaticus*¹²⁰. If our higher estimate is correct, then, in the practice outlined in BL51's *liber horarum* of 228 psalms per week, it would have taken almost exactly a week to cycle around the psalter. If our lower estimate is correct, then it would have taken just under six weekdays (30 psalms each) or just over five days (48 Sunday psalms, plus four weekdays of 30 psalms each) to cycle around all of the psalms. We cannot come to any clear conclusion about exactly how long this process took because the evidence is – as we have seen – incomplete and sometimes ambiguous. Despite this, we can see that the Old Hispanic night time cloistered liturgy did provide for regular continuous psalmody, and that the psalter was cycled through at least as often as in the Benedictine liturgy.

Conclusions

Our analysis of the liturgical material in BL51 has led us to a new understanding of several features of the Old Hispanic rite that have until now largely remained the subject of speculation. In particular, the place of psalmody in this rite has not previously been well understood. Our research has also resulted in a new interpretation of the likely purpose of BL51's psalter, including its antiphons and orations. BL51 has previously been thought of as a manuscript combining multiple book types: a *liber psalmorum*, *canticorum et hymnorum*, a

¹¹⁸ Psalms 105, 106 and 113. Psalm 117 has an alleluiaticus before the psalm and a *matutinarium* afterwards, and was counted in the tally above.

¹¹⁹ Psalms 110-112, 114-116, 134, 135, 145-147, and 18 sections of psalm 118 (one further section has a *matutinarium*, discussed above).

¹²⁰ The tally excludes Psalms 3, 50 and 56 which, as canonical psalms sung several times each day, may well not have been part of the continuous psalmody, as we established earlier.

liber horarum, and a partial *liber mysticus*. Our analysis raises the possibility that BL51 is a previously unrecognised surviving example of the book type known as the *psalmographus*, described in a tenth-century charter as a «psalmographic book of hours and prayers». The materials in the *liber psalmorum*, *liber canticorum* and *liber horarum* certainly tally with that description.

In previous work on psalmody in the Old Hispanic rite, Pinell argued that the liturgical material in psalters such as BL51 and BN01 was designed for use in the services on weekdays lacking a properised liturgy. This rests on an extrapolation from the public liturgy found in the first three weeks of Lent in L8, where a complete psalm cycle can be discerned across vespers, matutinum, terce, sext and none. This theory is challenged, however, by the fact that the public liturgy would not have included terce, sext and none outside penitential times. In ordinary (non-penitential) times, including weekdays lacking a properised liturgy, only matutinum and vespers would be used in the public liturgy; a ferial psalm cycle in the public liturgy would therefore take much longer than the three weeks of L8's Lent psalm cycle. These three weeks cannot therefore be the model for a non-Lenten ferial psalm cycle in the Old Hispanic public liturgy. We do, in fact, have materials for part of the week for a ferial public liturgy in S3. Here, the antiphons and their verses do not follow a psalm cycle. We have therefore discounted the possibility that the public ferial liturgy included a psalm cycle.

On the Benedictine model, one might expect a psalm cycle to include the cloistered day services. As we have shown, this is not the case in the Old Hispanic liturgy, where a limited number of fixed psalms are used each day in these services. Those living in monastic communities did not routinely sing a psalm cycle during the day.

Instead, as we have discussed, a cycle of continuous psalmody occurred during the cloistered night services of the Old Hispanic liturgy (and by cloistered, we imply all institutions with enough religious personnel to perform lengthy night services – as evidenced by the same material found in L8 for night offices that would have been performed in a cathedral). This is made clear by references in the *liber horarum* to the singing of psalms in order within those night services. While Pinell argued that these psalms would have been recited without antiphons, this is an argument *ex silentio*. We consider, on the contrary, that the cloistered night liturgy could well have used psalms with antiphons and orations. The extant *libri horarum* do not assign particular psalms to particular days. The psalms are instead sung «in order.» To gain a sense of how long it took to cycle around the psalter, we

estimated the number of psalms (including separate sections) included in BL51, considering the number of divisions and antiphon+oration pairs, and drawing on the evidence of BN01 and Sant in the large lacunae. We compared the results with the approximate number of psalms assigned to each night in the *liber horarum*, and we have concluded that it took a week or slightly less to cycle around the psalter.

One complication remains. Pinell argued that BL51 was used for a public liturgy psalm cycle in part because of the additional material in the psalter that seems to correspond uniquely to the public liturgy (i.e. *matutinaria*, *alleluiatici*, canonical psalms). Some of these chants could also have been used in the night services, as we have argued. In the case of such materials, then, BL51 may have been a repository both for night liturgy material, and for psalmic material used in the public liturgy. It would make logical sense to store the *matutinaria*, together with their corresponding *completuria* and *benedictiones*, next to the complete psalms with which they were routinely sung.

Our analysis has given new insight into how psalmody was used in the Old Hispanic rite. Despite not following the Benedictine rule, it appears likely that monks in the Iberian peninsula before the end of the eleventh century (when the Old Hispanic rite was abolished) followed a cycle of psalmody, over the course of roughly a week. Unlike the Benedictine tradition, however, where there is a fixed series of psalms corresponding to each of the cloistered services, the Old Hispanic liturgy preserves a continuous progression through the psalms over the night services in the manner of the Gallican and early Irish traditions. This brings the Iberian example closer to what we know from the rest of Europe (contrary to the three-week cycle of psalmody previously suggested) although, as with so many other components of this rarely-studied liturgy, it equally reflects the unique character of religious practice in Iberia.